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ABSTRACT

One of the characteristics of ethnography is the use of concrete examples to shed light on the context of human experience. As part of a 2-year ethnographic project, students in a high school located between a deteriorating city and an affluent suburb were interviewed and observed to study the interaction between the school as a social system and adolescent adaptive behavior based on the peer reference process. The results indicated that polarized socialization at the school occurred in informal activities mediated by peer groups and curricular activities differentiated by academic performance. While clearly visable, both students and teachers considered the socialization process to be a natural phenomenon related to residential patterns. Sectioning was identified as the most powerful formal device that not only separated blacks and whites but also determined the structuring of educational knowledge and experience. Students appeared to act, to a significant extent, according to the teachers' expectations of them. Further research is needed to determine the effect of class on students in terms of placement in sections and associational patterns. (JAC)

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Polarized Socialization

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by

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Polarized Socialization

General Research Problem

This paper describes part of an extensive two-year ethnographic project begun by a team of four researchers in the summer of 1980 and expected to be completed by the end of the current academic year. The general aim of the research project was to study the interaction between a high school as a social system and adolescent adaptive behavior based on the peer-reference process. The researchers paid particular attention to the extent to which the racial, social-class stratification of a community influences adaptive behavioral and orientational patterns as exhibited by adolescent in the school. The school social system, for this project, was considered to be the curricular activities, extracurricular activities, rules and expectations that legitimate and regulate such activities, as well as the formal and informal roles played by students and school personnel. Adolescent adaptive behavior, in the same context, was considered to be that pattern of behavior that developed in response to social situations involving activities guided by peer-group culture.

Demographic and Social Setting

The school under study is situated in Everrett Township (fictitious name) between a deteriorating city and an affluent suburb. The city, to the south, has a population of 92,000 and manifests the gamut of deep-seated urban problems that can be seen

in the heart of any large city suffering from urban decay. The suburb, to the north, has a population of 20,000 and is comparatively stable and rich. It contains within it social strata ranging from upper class to working class. Encircled by such contrasting communities, Everrett is by and large a residential town with some secondary and tertiary industry. Its growth has been significantly influenced by an exodus of white families from the neighboring city that began about 1950. Everrett's current population is 35,000, of which 84 percent are whites and 14 percent are blacks. Its per capita income is over $7,000. It is a middle-class community with upper-middle-class families in its northern and western sections, middle- and working-class families in the center, and lower-class families on the southern fringe. It includes multiethnic groups and a wide spectrum of political and religious persuasions. In this respect teachers at the school often characterize Everrett as typical of the eastern part of the nation.

Racial separation is markedly visible, and most blacks live in three racially homogeneous neighborhoods. One neighborhood, adjacent to the border with the city, consists of lower- and working-class families; the second neighborhood is home to blacks with variable social statuses; and the third one consists of a group of middle-class blacks who replaced white families during the past decade or so.

The High School Under Study

Everrett High School is the only public school in the community, and it enrolls 1,070 students at present, of whom 68 and 30 percent are, respectively, white and black students. In addition, it accommodates a few Asian and Hispanic students who constitute only 2 percent. Besides this high school, there are two Diocesan Catholic high schools and several other private high schools within short commuting distance from the township.

Although 60 percent of Everrett's students advance to various institutions at the postsecondary level, only 40 percent normally attend four-year institutions; the remaining 20 percent go to community colleges and vocational schools. Fewer than 10 percent are admitted to the state university each year, and only a few students attend Ivy League universities.

Methodological Framework

Our major method of gathering data in this study was the in-depth interview, through which we particularly sought emic data from adolescents--students' perceptions of their experiences and their meanings in the context of adolescent life, in which peer reference plays a significant role in developing their orientation toward activities, schooling and society. We also employed a network approach to adolescent social relations in order to understand the dynamics of peer-group behavior not bounded by rigid structural and role constraints. Our network analysis focused on diachronic and synchronic dimensions of peer groups: largely formation and

transactional content. Another technique was observation,which we used to gain etic data concerning adolescent behavior and peer-reference activities in the classroom, the homeroom, the corridor, the common smoking ground, the library, the cafeteria, and in extra-curricular situations. We coupled extensive observation with event analysis to focus on classroom situations. Additionally, we took activity profiles of our student informants and interviewed teachers, administrators, counselors. Finally, we gathered relevant school documents and the confidential files of all junior students. These files provide us with rich information with regard to subject selection, grades, placement in the sections (ability grouping), California Achievement Test scores, IQ scores, parental occupations, and addresses.

The entire junior class, consisting of 357 students, constituted the subjects for our research. Its racial and ethnic breakdowns are: 243 white students(68 percent); 106 black students (30 percent); and 8 Hispanic and Asian students (2 percent). Seventy-five students (60 whites and 15 blacks) attend a vocational school in the morning and Everrett in the afternoon. From the entire class, we randomly selected 75 students for in-depth interviews and observation when they were sophomores in 1980.

Polarized Socialization: Presentation of Data

We are still in the process of gathering data, and so far we have interpreted only a small part of the great amount of data

gathered. Hence, based on these data, my presentation offers a limited interpretation of the problem to be dealt with. The central problem to be discussed in this paper is a pattern of polarized socialization seen at the school involving two dominant racial groups. This pattern of socialization is based upon social and physical separation between white and black students in their school and community settings. Polarization refers to separation and race-oriented or class-centered centrifugal forces that drive students with similar racial and class attributes into homogeneous groups. In this presentation, polarization will mean only that between white and black students. Polarized socialization at the school takes place in informal activities mediated by peer groups and formal curricular activities differentiated according to the criterion of academic performance. Everrett has adopted a system of sections for each academic subject, according to which students are classified into five sections. Section I represents superior students; Section II, above average; Section III, average; Section IV, below average; Section V, "adjusted students." The distribution of students in the order of sections is roughly as follows: 5 percent; 10 percent; 60 percent; 20 percent; 5 percent.

Though polarization is clearly visible and hard to dismiss both inside and outside the school building, our respondents, both students and teachers, concertedly suggested that it is a "natural" phenomenon. That is, they felt it is a natural consequence of the associational patterns they developed in their neighborhoods. They

were reluctant to entertain even the assumption that distance between whites and blacks may have a basis in racial prejudice.

a. Peer-group Patterns

Of my student respondents, 12 were interviewed and observed in greater depth than the others. I will focus upon these students to illustrate peer-group patterns polarized on the basis of race. Of these respondents, five are blacks including three girls and two boys, and seven are whites, consisting of five girls and two boys. Race-based segregation, as seen in the choice of friends, is distinct among these students. There is just one exception, which involves a black female student whose first, second, and fourth friends are white peers and whose third friend is a black. Her choice of friends may be explained by her active participation on the student council and her opportunities to interact with white peers at three different grade levels. In fact, her best friends include students who are older as well as younger than she is. The other black students chose friends exclusively from their own race.

The black student who chose white peers as her friends lives in a middle-class neighborhood, and her street is adjacent to a white neighborhood. She is one of the only three black students in the entire junior class whose academic placement in both English and math is Section II or above. Her placement in the two subjects is II. In contrast, another black girl, in Sections II and III relative to the two subjects, chose only blacks as her friends and did not

consider whites as her close friends. She also lives in the same neighborhood as the aforementioned student. Similarly, the third black girl's peer network consists of only black students. Her academic placement is Section IV in English and III in math. The networks of the two black male students are composed of only black peers. They are placed in Section III in English and IV in math. They both live in black neighborhoods as well.

Turning to white students, all seven respondents chose white peers as their best friends; no black students are included in their entire peer networks. Among them, one male student and two female students are categorized as superior, enjoying the status derived from their placement in Section I of both subjects. Another female student is placed in Section II of English and Section I of math. Two other white students are regarded as average to above-average students and are placed in Sections II and III. Finally, the last female student is in the below-average sections.

It appears that the social class backgrounds of both black and white students do not seem to influence the pattern of racially polarized peer association. Among the seven white students mentioned above, two are from upper-middle-class families and another two, from middle-class families. The remaining three students are characterized as belonging to the working class. One of the black female students exhibits attributes clearly associated with the middle class, yet she chose blacks as her friends. The remaining

three black students are from working-class families. Though separation between whites and blacks in associational patterns is not mediated by class attributes, data suggest that these attributes influence the choice of friends within the boundary of each race. Both white and black students tend to form class-homogeneous peer-group networks.

b. Sectioning

To understand how sectioning leads to polarized socialization, we will explore its manifest and latent functions. Sectioning refers to academic differentiation. As mentioned earlier, students at Everrett are differentiated into five academic sections. The manifest function of this differentation is to promote learning in accordance with individual competence, as well as to facilitate effective teaching. This allocative device is taken for granted by administrators, teachers, counselors, and also students and never seriously called into question. Nonetheless, one counselor suggested that counselors are aware of some value of heterogeneous grouping. For example, he pointed out that peer teaching and slow students' motivational orientation toward academic work may be promoted in heterogeneous grouping, as highly motivated students may tend to lead them. However, his view was rejected by most teachers. Heterogeneous grouping, they commented, would be inefficient and most boring to students on both ends of the ability continuum. Most of the school personnel prefer the term "sectioning" to "academic

tracking" because, in their view, the former is a flexible pedagogic device that allows mobility between sections by students. Tracking, on the other hand, they see as a rigid system that eliminates such mobility. However, one administrator contended that sectioning is not as flexible as purported and not significantly different from tracking.

Placing students in the sections is based on the following criteria: grade-point average for at least three marking periods; California Achievement Test scores; teacher recommendations; the "input" by students and parents. Here the input refers to the views for desired placement expressed by students and parents. If parents are not satisfied with the placement of their children, they have the right to appeal for a change in placement. When appeals are made, a conference is held that normally involves the parents, a department chairperson, and a counselor. Final decisions would sometimes involve even the principal as well. Both teachers and counselors pointed out that most of the students and parents accept original recommendations for placement in the sections; there are only about 50 appeals a year in the entire school, and these are most frequent in English and math. Appeals are usually made early in the first marking period. Last year, for example, there were 17 cases in the English and 10 in the math curricula. In contrast to last year, however, there are none in math and about 10 in English this year. This indicates a liberalization of placement criteria by the departments and also suggest that they became more sensitive

to the desires of the parents before finally deciding upon individual placements.

At any rate, the recent policy of the school is to accept parental appeals when they are made. In one counselor's view, there are comparatively more black parents who appeal than white parents. He interpreted this to suggest that black parents' appeals may be a response to their perceptions that black students are often viewed by teachers as academically less competent than white students. In general, he commented, these parental requests often reveal that parental pressure is stronger than students' desires for changes in placement. An implication is that some of the black students may have been overplaced.

Now let us turn to the latent function of the sectioning system as related to polarized socialization. Despite the suggestion that some black students are overplaced this year, there are only 3 black students in the junior class of 357 who were placed above Section III in both English and math. Two students are in Section II of the two subjects. Another is in Section I of both subjects, but she transferred to Everrett this year from New York State. In contrast, 15 white students are in Section I of both subjects and 18 white students are in Section II of these curricula. As we look at lower sections, we see more black students represented. For example, there are 18 blacks in Sections II and III of the two subjects, whereas there are 33 whites in these sections. Seventy-five percent of the black students fall either in a combination of Sections

III and IV (60 students) or in Sections III or IV of English without being placed in math at the junior level. My observation of English and math classes of different sections clearly supports the pattern of black students' placement in the sections presented above.

What does this pattern suggest? It demonstrates that sectioning is one of the central mechanisms at Everrett that contributes to polarized socialization. The opportunities of black students to interact in formal curricular situations with white students who are above the 50th percentile in academic performance are severely restricted. Inversely, they are frequently assigned to classroom situations where their interaction tends to be confined to peers of their own race as well as to some white students under the 50th percentile. But, because they are likely to be clustered in several areas in the classroom, their associational networks in such situations tend to exclude white students. The sectioning system imposes on black students, as well as a certain portion of white students, a structure that not only reinforces race-homogeneous, peer-mediated interaction, but also reduces enculturative opportunities to be shared with students in other sections than their own.

c. Differential Access to Cultural Capital

Thus far I have shed light upon how polarization takes place in peer-group association and formal curricular activities through sectioning. Here I will discuss how cultural capital--a useful term

introduced by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passerson--is distributed among the students in different sections.[1] Cultural capital means a total body of knowledge, skills, and symbols that serves to determine individual competence in social mobility and influences individual cognitive orientation toward life and society. Students' differential access to cultural capital leads to a process of enculturative polarization involving white and black students.

To illustrate how students have differential access to cultural capital through schooling, I will single out the junior-level English curriculum.

To begin, superior students are expected to develop the broadest as well as the most profound knowledge and appreciation of American literature, including materials pertaining to colonial explorers and Puritans; central features of romanticism, realism as well as transcendentalism; and modern literature. In treating American literature, the instructor emphasizes character delineation, the statement of theme, the use of symbols, and literary styles. In addition, the instructor uses a vocabulary program designed to improve skills for "test taking," with special emphasis on Greek and Latin roots. Students are expected to master at least 35 words every week at a sophisticated level.

In terms of attitudinal and cognitive orientation, stress is placed upon research, creativity, critical thinking, independence, and self-expression. Students must do research in the library and write essays, which are a main factor in determining their grade.

They are often encouraged to take a position and defend it in class discussion. Also required is an ability not only to read widely, but also to criticize literature. To encourage critical thinking and the development of self-expression, the instructor tends to avoid imposing a rigid framework on students and occasionally permits them to take the initiative in leading a discussion. What Basil Bernstein calls "frame" is relatively weak in the instruction of superior students. Frame refers to "the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship."[2]

Regarding above-average students, they are also required to cover a series of novels, as outlined for the superior students, although their readings are limited in terms of depth. They are expected to do less independent and individualized work necessitating research in the library. However, equal emphasis is placed on self-expression, competence to understand symbolic meanings and generalization, as well as analytical and writing skills at a broad conceptual level. These students receive essay-type tests, like the superior students, with respect to the mastery of literary knowledge and the level of cognitive and motivational orientation toward academic work. But they are viewed as requiring stronger frame, i.e., more direction from the teacher.

There is a sharp contrast between the former two groups (I and II) and average students (III), who constitute a majority of students with various degrees of competence and motivation. None-

theless, they are more or less uniformly guided by a general frame of teachers' expectations. The instructor's primary interest is to develop reading skills, writing, and grammatical understanding at a relatively concrete level. For example, the writing exercise of average students often consists of three-paragraph statements. They are given opportunities to read "a little of everything," as one instructor phrased it, including all literary periods, as delineated earlier. These students understand "direct statements," but they exhibit difficulty and lose interest when Thoreau, for example, resorts to metaphors that are too subtle and tedious for them. Average students are characterized as exhibiting relatively short attention spans, being insecure, and requiring concreteness in dealing with literature, as revealed in the view expressed by a teacher that they often ask about the practical purpose of literature. If they do not see it, she commented, they tend to discard it. Hence they are often "spoon-fed," in her words, when the instructor deals with difficult materials, such as Puritan literature. For example, in teaching such literature she first outlines it carefully and concretely by listing main points on the board, so that they may identify the theme, instead of having students explore it first through discussion.

Research and independent work tend to play little part in average students' study. They are normally viewed as having developed dependent, unconfident, and passive attitudes that require strong framing. Based on the same view, they are ordinarily given

mutiple-choice tests that do not demand complex and abstract responses as essay-type questions do. The instructor expects them to master 15 words a week instead of 35--a minimum requirement at the superior level. Furthermore, average students are expected to do much less work at home than in the school than the former two groups. Whereas superior and above-average students are expected to devote, respectively five and three hours a week for homework, the average students are usually required to spend one to two hours. The chairperson of the English department commented: "This is primarily because they do not do it at home. If more assignments are given to less able students, it will become a way of failing them rather than ensuring that they pass." Yet, in the view of one teacher who teaches both superior and average groups, the difference between the two is not so much owing to their lack of ability as to their lack of interest.

With respect to the below-average section (IV), teachers have a totally different approach to students. Students in this section receive significantly limited cultural capital through curricular activities. Based on the assumption that their reading competence is at the level of fifth to seventh grade, their curriculum emphasizes oral reading, short stories, basic vocabulary, writing exercise, and memorization, as well as simple grammar. Many of these students are thought to have little interest in the subject, and their attention span is severely limited. As they cannot read well, they are often frustrated by the materials presented to them. More

than 50 percent of the below-average students participate in the morning vocational program offered at a nearby vocational school. In addition, they often have part-time work, which makes them physically tired in class. This seems to contribute to their lethargic orientation toward the subject.

For the reasons mentioned here, the below-average students receive a minimum amount of work at school and practically no home assignments. In the classroom, they are provided with a short period at the beginning to "socialize" themselves, so that they may orient themselves to the atmosphere of structured experience. Then they typically proceed to review a vocabulary and respond to the teacher's questions stimulating their recollection. One instructor stated that repetition, reinforcement, and attention to individual students are crucial to teaching students in Section IV. Toward the end of the class period, about 5 to 10 minutes are again often spent for "socializing" activities.

Finally, a brief comment on adjusted students (V), who are below the fith-grade level. They receive simple drills to learn basic and "survival" skills and knowledge required in every-day activity. The most attention is paid to elementary vocabulary and grammatical skills that identify subject, verb, and rules of capitalization and punctuation, as well as recalling facts and putting them in logical order. These students have the most restricted access to cultural capital through their schooling.

At this point my classroom observation will be briefly brought

to bear upon the foregoing discussion; namely, I cite a reciprocity of expectations between teachers and students. Students appear to act, to a significant extent, according to their teachers' expectations of them. It is apparent that below-average students do not expect rigorous work from the instructor, nor do they feel that they are expected to make an effort to concentrate on the subject. They constantly talk to each other, and some walk around in the classroom in the presence of the instructor. The instructor's central function thus becomes one of maintaining order in the classroom. A teacher's concern with order tends to reduce attention to instruction. Yet, though he/she often warns the students to be "quiet" and "concentrate," he/she does not seem to be disturbed when the students behave contrarily. The instructor assumes that these students are not able to sustain attention to intellectual work and that they are not motivated enough to make a personal effort to do decent academic work.

I also observed this pattern of reciprocity at a lower level of the average section that exhibited similar behavior and attitudes. In sharp contrast to these students, the students in Sections I and II are highly concerned with not only their daily academic work, but also their grades. Their high motivation also reflects the pattern of reciprocity of expectations. Likewise, academically better motivated students in Section III display a personal effort to conform to the expectations set for them. These students' behavioral and orientational attributes revealed in the classroom are conducive to promoting concentration on work, a sustained interest in the subject,

and a concern with academic excellence.

As we have seen, students in the five sections have differential access to literary knowledge, skills, and symbols--cultural capital. This generalization applies to mathematics as well, though I do not have space here to present an analysis of the math curriculum, too.

I will point out briefly implications of differential access to cultural capital for polarized socialization. The reader will recall that two-thirds of the black students at Everrett are centered around a combination of Sections III and IV relative to the English and math curricula, some students falling in Sections III and IV of English without math at the junior level. Only a few black students are in Sections I and II. In short, black students are heavily clustered in the lower end of the sectional continuum and distributed very thinly in the upper end. This continuum determines a pattern of black students' access to cultural capital.

With respect to English, most black students' enculturative content, received through curricular activities, has definite characteristics distinct from those revealed in the enculturative content acquired by white students in Sections I and II and in the higher level of Section III. Though these characteristics have been identified in the foregoing discussion, I shall recapitulate them here. They include: acquisition of basic reading and writing skills, elementary vocabulary, and simple grammar; memorization of facts; dependency; and the absence of motivational orientation toward work. Characteristics of the white students include:acquisition of

skills to appreciate sophisticated literature, development of ability to articulate thought, and competence to deal with abstract ideas; competence to do research; creativity and critical thinking; independence; diligence.

Even though black students share the enculturative content of schooling with white students in the same sections, their curricular experience tends to be qualitatively different in significant respects from that of the majority of white students. Thus, polarized socialization involves not only the different forms in which it takes place, but also educational contents structured in the school setting, which determine experientially qualitative dimensions of polarization. What Bernstein calls "classification" originates in and evolves through such socialization. A central concept of his pedagogical analysis refers to the differentiation between groups of different experiential attributes. It separates individuals, as well as groups, and impedes interaction between them.

d. Separation as a "Natural Phenomenon"

As referred to earlier, separation between white and black students is visible and pervasive in the general school setting. I have observed student interaction in the cafeteria, corridor, and outdoor common ground, where they are permitted to smoke, as well as in the homeroom, gym, library, and classroom. In general, racial separation is more conspicuous in the informal situations than in the formal, as in the corridor and cafeteria. It is rare to see a

mixed group of students in the cafeteria. Ordinarily blacks and whites cluster around separate rows of tables. Likewise, black students have self-designated corners in the corridor where they often hang around, whereas clusters of white students are not seen as frequently in the corridor as their counterparts. Also, when individual students pass through the corridor, black students talk to each other more often than to white students, and vice versa.

The library, located in the center of the school building, presents another situation where territorial separation between the two groups of students occurs. In most cases black students occupy tables toward the end of the library opposite the circulation desk, whereas white students tend to sit in the middle. When students come to the library, they usually engage in talking to each other more often than in reading. Hence the library serves to fulfill a function of informal socialization. The librarian, whose role is in part to maintain order and an atmosphere conducive to reading, frequently reminds students that they must be quiet. His warning, however, tends to fall on deaf ears. In the classroom, blacks and whites tend to cluster, but do not display territorial separation in the common ground, but there are visibly segregated patterns of interaction.

Segregated association is also often seen in the gym class particularly during the weekly optional activities. In the situation I observed, for example, 40 students voluntarily formed three groups: two basketball and one hockey. One basketball group consisted of

all blacks except one, whereas the other consisted of all whites. The hockey group was also composed of only whites.

Let us turn briefly to three club activities: basketball, football, and the student executive council. The basketball team consists of 20 members involving three grade levels. The domination of black students in basketball is obvious in the fact that 18 members are blacks. In contrast, the football team attracts a balanced participation of both groups of students of all grade levels. There are 27 blacks, 23 whites, and 2 Asians. Among them, 9 blacks, 7 whites, and 1 Oriental make up the roster of starting members. This year the Everrett football team won the state championship. According to the head coach, the emphasis that he placed on common objectives and discipline was a major factor in accomplishing the success. There was no division between black and white players throughout the entire season--a pattern of interaction not commonly seen in the general social relations involving both races in the school setting. However, the coach did share his observation that white and black students are generally divided in the school, and he offered his opinion that the division resulted from adolescent associations based on neighborhoods. He emphasized that the achievement of unity by the two races on his team was facilitated by the pursuit of common goals and maximum cooperation among the players to win games.

As to the student executive council, it consists of 14 seniors, 8 juniors, and 5 sophomores. Its racial composition is: 8 whites

and 6 blacks at the senior level; 7 whites and 1 black at the junior level; and 3 whites and 2 blacks at the sophomore level. Overall, black students are represented well in the council except at the junior level. Although the five officers who are seniors are elected by the student body at large, the other council members are elected at each grade level. Interviews with the advisor for the council reveal that a degree of racial division exists even though there is a balanced representation of both groups. According to her, there are two or three black and white members who cross the "racial boundary" in seating arrangements and interaction in the council meeting. It should be pointed out, however, that all members were united when they approached common problems. For example, they exhibited concerted and sustained cooperation in their appeal to the board of education to rescind its decision to upgrade the criteria for grading, made effective in September 1981. In fact, their petition successfully led to the reversal of that decision.

What these two examples seem to suggest is that when white and black students perceive common goals and interests, they are willing to cooperate to achieve them. In the absence of such a perception, they tend to remain apart from each other.

Finally, I will comment briefly regarding the segregated residential patterns that are often considered the basis for what is thought to be natural separation between white and black students. As referred to earlier, there are three black neighborhoods demarcated from the white neighborhoods. Most of the black students at Everrett

High School have grown up and developed varied degrees of bonding among themselves in their neighborhoods. Likewise, most white students grew up in white neighborhoods and developed their cognitive orientation toward members of their own race and blacks. In this respect neighborhood may have served as a crucial factor in the interpretation of polarized socialization.

Conclusion

One of the characteristics of ethnography is to employ a concretizing mode of description and to offer what Herbert Blumer calls "sensitizing concepts" in order to shed light on the context of human experience. In other words, ethnography enables us to understand complex phenomena in terms of concrete examples, illustrations, and rich descriptions presented in depth and concepts that are meaningfully developed with particular reference to the context of experience and events. The purpose of my presentation is to offer such illustrations and concepts in a limited way.

Polarized socialization occurs under definite educational and social conditions, and racial separation is not a natural phenomenon as has been perceived by our informants. Everrett High School accepts the stratification of knowledge as a central pedagogical principle underlying the sectioning structure. Sectioning is the most powerful formal device employed by the school, and it not only separates in large measure blacks from whites, but also determines the different structuring of educational knowledge and

and experience for them. Accordingly, students who have differential access to cultural capital gain different cognitive and motivational orientations toward schooling.

Another structural source of separation is segregation in residential patterns, which is determined by a combination of race and class variables. Residential segregation is a tenacious and forceful structural variable that influences socialization and interracial interactional patterns. In Everrett, the race variable appears to be a more powerful factor in the formation of the three black neighborhoods. If the class variable were stronger, it would allow for more mixed housing. As applied to blacks in Everrett, what Gerald Berreman calls "status stratification" is a stronger factor than class stratification.[3] In this sense, race is not yet a factor whose significance is in decline, as suggested by William Wilson.[4]

It seems that social separation created in housing, as well as class and status stratification, has a significant bearing upon the formation of race-homogeneous peer groups. As Emile Durkheim cogently stated in Suicide, collective tendencies depend on conditions external to individuals. They affect the individual from without.[5] Hence, to understand such a collective tendency as exhibited in the peer-group patterns under study, we need to look for external forces influencing adolescents, which are in significant part infrastructural and social structural conditions.

To glean further understanding and generalizations on polarized socialization, we must base our interpretation on a broad

base of data that have not yet been sufficiently analyzed. We must further look into how sectioning and residential segregation affect peer-group association, and also how class affects not only black students, but also white students in terms of placement in sections and associational patterns.

Footnotes

1. See Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1977).

2. Basil Berntein, Class, Codes and Control: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions (Volume 3) (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p.89.

3. Gerald Berreman, "Social Inequality: A Cross-Cultural Analysis" in Social Inequality: Comparative and Developmental Approaches. Gerald Berreman, ed. (New York: Academic Press, 1981), pp.12-19.

4. See William Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978).

5. Emile Durkheim, Suicide (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp.306-310.